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PRESIDENT FLAYS THE DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Third Page.)

pointing out again that if on one great issue they do not mean what they say, it is hardly safe to trust them on any other issue. But if they are sincere in this matter, then their advent to power would mean domestic misfortune and misery as widespread and far-reaching as that which we saw ten years ago. When they speak of protection as 'robbery,' they, of course, must mean that it is immoral, and that the tariff designed to protect a protective tariff to secure to the American wage-worker, the benefit of the high standard of living which we desire to see kept up in this country. Now to speak of the tariff in this sense as 'robbery,' thereby making it immoral, is not only logically rhetorical; it is on its face false. The question of what tariff is best for our people is not a question of right or wrong determined not on abstract academic grounds, but in the light of experience. It is a matter of business; for fund-raising purposes it is a matter of expediency. Manufacturers, merchants, farmers, wage-workers, professional men, all alike. Our country is not a simple one. It is certainly not shown as that we could afford in this matter to follow those professional counsellors who have criticised the tariff as a matter of principle. For the repeal working of the tariff has emphatically contradicted their theories. From the time that the tariff was repealed, it has been arranged and readjusted to meet the shifting needs of the country; but this has not been done by the simple-minded who are committed to the cause of the protective system. To uproot and destroy that system would be to inaugurate the process of ruin to the clothing and shoe factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist, and the starvation of the masses. The tariff's destruction is indeed 'robbery,' and if our opponents really believe what they say then they are proposing to rob the country of its property, to strip it of the life and vitality of the tariff, and therefore of our business and industry, that they are pledged. When our opponents last obtained control of the tariff, they declared it 'unconstitutional' and the effort to put this declaration into practice was one of the causes of the general depression of the country from 1890 to 1897. If a protective tariff is either 'unconstitutional' or 'robbery,' then it is just as well to let it alone, and not to attempt to revise it down, still leaving it protective, as it would be to enact it. In other words our opponents have committed the same error of construction of the protective principle in the tariff, using words which if honestly used forbid them from having the right to obtain in even the smallest degree.

Question of Reciprocity.

"Our opponents assert that they believe reciprocity. Their action on the most important reciprocity treaty recently negotiated by the United States is evidence out this assertion. Moreover, there can be no reciprocity unless there is a solid basis of mutual interest. If the interests are not compatible, we are on record as favoring arrangements for reciprocal trade with other countries. The arrangements to be on an equitable basis of benefit to both the contracting parties. Reciprocity is a principle that is applied to every wise and consistent method of increasing the foreign commerce of the United States. It has been proved by the fact that while the domestic trade of this country is increasing, the export and import trade of all the nations of the world, the United States has increased. The United States is the largest of the export trade of the world, standing first among the nations in the export trade. The United States has exported during the last seven years nearly ten billions of dollars worth of goods on an average half as much as in the previous seven years. In the last few years, when many of our people were

consuming nothing but necessities, and some of them a scanty supply even of these.

"Two years ago, in speaking at Logansport, Ind., I said:

"The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workman. The tariff-rate must never fall below that which will maintain the American standard of living by allowing for the difference between the general labor cost here and abroad, so as at least to enable our conditions to stand up to the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a standard of labor here and abroad—a standard which requires that the worker be better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workingmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign land. No matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workman must be able to maintain his standard of wages, that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest amount of opportunity for advancement, so that no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. These should be no less important considerations in a change in conditions at home and abroad."

Definitely Established.

"It is a matter of regret that the protective tariff policy, which, during the last forty odd years, has become part of the very fiber of the country, is not only being abandoned, but that the country we have a right to say that it has passed beyond the domain of theory, and a right to expect that it will be its original position. But those who are so much devoted to it on theoretic grounds, should now acquiesce in the results that have been proved over and over again by actual experience. The American people are now the most prosperous years this nation has ever seen; more prosperous years than any other nation has ever seen. Beyond question this prosperity could not have come if the American people had not had the tariff, the tariff, energy, and business intelligence to turn their vast material resources to account. But it is no less true that the tariff has made no gains in the tariff and finance, which has enabled us as a nation to make such good use of the individual capacities of our people, and to make the people of our country. Every class of our people is benefited by the protective tariff. During the last few years the merchant has seen his profits grow, the farmer has seen his crops grow faster than ever in our previous history. The manufacturer could not keep his factory running if it were not for the protective tariff. If protection is to be done well to remember that if protection is robbery," and is to be punished accordingly, he will be the first to pay the penalty. If the tariff is to be abolished entirely, or his wages will be cut down to the starvation point. As conclusively shown by the bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living, and the wages received by the wage-worker has grown faster than the cost of living, and

splite of the continual sh
ng hours. The accumula

working for the benefit of the country, as shown by the deposits in the savings banks, have been made in the last seven years, but no one in the history of any or any other country has there been an era so productive of material benefit alike to so great a number of the people during the seven years that have just passed.

Farmer Benefited.

"The farmer has benefited quite as much as the manufacturer and the mechanic, and the laborer. The most welcome and impressive fact established by the last census is that the wealth of the country has been distributed among all classes of our countrymen." The chief agencies in producing this result are the development of agriculture and the application of new inventions to the soil. Two, the most important, are the increasing interdependence of agriculture and manufactures. Agriculture is now as it always has been, the basis of civilization. It is the only industry in which the United States, operated by men who, as a class, are self-sufficing, single-minded and free from the narrowness of vision and other achievements of the American people.

ple and a more fruitful than all their other resources. The men on those six million farms receive from the protective tariff what they most need, and that is the market for their products. The various classes depend upon the farmer, but the farmer in turn depends upon the market for his products. The total value of the annual output of our agricultural products is nearly four billions of dollars. Their increase in value for the past 100 years has been enormous. Although agriculture has languished in most other countries; and the main factor in this increase is the corresponding increase in the value of the products of American farmers have prospered because the growth of their market has kept pace with the growth of their production. Additional market continually furnished for agricultural products by domestic manufacturers has been a factor in increasing the demand for farm products. The farmer has to sell his products on the market. An export trade in farm products is necessary to dispose of our surplus, and the export trade of our products is the main market for our plant products has very largely increased. Without the enlarged home market to take the surplus, the farmer would be forced to reduce production or else feed the world at less than the cost of production.

Demand for Farm Products.

"In the thirty years ending in 1990, the total value of farm property increased twelve and a half billions of dollars; the farmer gaining even more during this period than the manufacturer. The over-production would have checked the marvelous development of our national agriculture, but for the American manufacturer. The American manufacturer for farm products required as raw materials for steadily expanding industries. The manufacturer of farm products is the manufacturer to utilize that portion of his produce which does not go directly to food supply. In 1960 fifty two per cent, or a little over half of the farm products of the nation was consumed in manufacturing industries as the raw materials of the factories. Evidently the manufacturer is the farmer's second and most direct customer. Moreover, the American manufacturer purchases his farm supplies almost exclusively in his own country. The farmer's raw material of every kind and description consumed in American manufacturing are of American production. The farmer's purchases tend steadily to migrate into the heart of the great agricultural districts. The center of the manufacturing activity is in the middle of Ohio, and it is moving westward at the rate of about thirty miles in every decade; and this movement is increasing. The result is a steady increase in the value of farm lands. Local causes, notably the competition between new farm lands and old farm lands, have been a factor in this movement, but it is as certain as the operation of any economic law, that in the country as a whole the farmer's income will increase as the partnership between manufacturer and farmer grows more intimate through farther advances of industry.

Reduction of the Army.

"It is difficult to know if our opponents are really sincere in their demand for the reduction of the army. If they are, there is no need for comment, and if sincere, what shall we say in speaking to the persons of the opposition? We have an army of sixty thousand men which is taking care of the interests of over eighty million people. The army is not too large. It is smaller than that of France, of Washington, when on the peace establishment there were thirty-six hundred soldiers, than that of England, less than four millions of population; smaller than it was in the peaceful days of the Republic, when there were five hundred soldiers to five million, three hundred thousand population. There is now one soldier to every four thousand people of the United States—less than one-tenth of one per cent. We cannot be asked seriously to argue as to the amount of the establishment. It is a question of figures. The army as it is now is as small as it can possibly be and serve the purpose of the Government. The organization, equipment and supply of a volunteer army in time of need, it is now used, are never wanting in the hands of the organized militia of the country. The War Department is engaged in a systematic effort to strengthen the militia of the United States and several States, as witness, among many other instances, the great field manœuvres of the United States Army in 1904. If our opponents should come into power they could not reduce our army below its present size without greatly impairing its efficiency and its readiness for national duty. In short, in this matter, if our opponents should come into power they would be breaking the promise of a particular promise of the year 1904 as they now treat the promises they made in 1901. They would be breaking a binding force—or else they would have to embark on a policy which would be ludicrous at the moment and fraught with grave dangers to the national honor in the future.

Economical Management.

"Our opponents contend that the government is now administered extravagantly, and that there is a surplus of \$80,000,000 in 1900. There is a deficit of more than \$40,000,000 in the year 1901. This deficit is imaginary, and is obtained by including in the ordinary current expenditures the extraordinary expenditures which was paid for the right of way of the Panama Canal out of the accumulated surplus of the previous years. In the current or ordinary expenditures for the two years, there was a surplus of nearly \$100,000,000. The deficit of 1901 is only a little more than eight millions for the year that has just closed. But this figure is also imaginary, and is not brought about designedly by the abolition of the war taxes in the interval between the close of the fiscal year ending April 30, 1902, and the close of the internal revenue taxes to an amount estimated at \$100,000,000, and first year of the other world. The reduction of taxation has been considerably greater than the reduction in the revenue, and in the close of the year and the beginning of the close the year with Spain there has been no substantial change in the rate of the national expenditures. The comparison with the fiscal year ending in June, 1901, for example, the fiscal year that has just closed, showed a relatively small increase in expenditures, and the canal payment already referred to, while the year

previous showed a relatively small de-

"The expenditures of the nation have been managed in a spirit of economy as far as possible, and in the future every effort will be continued to secure an economy as strict as is compatible with the necessities of the country. Our opponents have promised what they cannot or should not perform. The prime reason why the expenditures of the Government are so large in recent years is to be found in the fact that the people, after mature thought, have decided that it was their duty to form of work for the public undertaken by the public. This necessitates such expenditures as the purchase of land for the free delivery, or for the inspection of meats under the Department of Agriculture, the purchase of land for forest, and expenditures are necessary; no one would seriously propose to abandon them, and the increase of expense of the government unless it is intended to cut down the very expenditures which cause the increase. The Government has incurred large expenditures during the Civil War are demanded by every sentiment of regard and gratitude. The rural form of life is the basis of the nation's allegiance to the farmers, a body of men who live under conditions which make them feel that they are entitled to a return for what they pay toward the support of the government. The irrigation of the West is one fraught with the most beneficent and far-reaching good to the nation, and the Government whose encouragement is a traditional feature in America's national policy. Do our opponents propose to cut down the expenditures for the Panama Canal? Do they intend to cut down on the pensions to the veterans of the Civil War? Do they intend to cut down on the irrigation, or to the permanent census bureau, or to immigration inspection? Do they intend to cut down on the navy, or the Alaskan telegraph system? Do they intend to cut down on the national expenditures for the relief of the poor? Do they intend to cut down on the Department of Agriculture has done service of incalculable value to the farmers of the country in such a manner as to make it impossible to cut down on the expenditures for this service? They can do it only by destroying the usefulness of the service itself.

The public work of the United States has never been conducted with a higher

the principles of honesty and efficiency that at the present time, and a special medal of praise belongs to those officials responsible for the administration of justice. There are, however, the administrations have been models of their kind. Of course, wrong has occurred, but it has not been stamped out. We have known no party in dealing with offenders, and have only a few who are in the service of the nation whom it was possible by the utmost vigilance to detect. For the most part, the law upholds the trust and the private individual who deaches him stand as the worst of the crimes against the entire community, and not only against this generation, but against the generations that are yet to come.

Independence of Philippines.

"Our opponents promise independence to the Philippine Islands. Here again we find a contradiction in their own words. Irreconcilable differences of opinion among themselves, their proved inability to carry out their policy of self-power, and their readiness for the sake of momentary popularity to sacrifice the principles upon which they have insisted as essential, conspire to puzzle us as to the sincerity of their promise and their faith to carry out this promise if they are given control of the government. For independence, apparently, for their language is a little obscure, without qualification as to time is an absurdity, for we have neither right nor power to foretell the conditions which may confront them, while if there is any principle involved, it is just as well to wait to deny independence for a few years as to deny it for an indefinite period. As for our opponents, the term self-government was substituted for independence, the natural construction they described precluded any word of independence. The language of the platform indicated a radical change of policy, the utter-

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Would be Frightful Calamity.

"It may be well that our opponents have no real intention of putting their promise of a federal union into effect. In other words, they are insincere in the promise they make—it is only necessary to say again that we are not to deal with anything. The mere consciousness of broken faith is enough to make the policy in the islands, and only by continuing unchanged this policy can the honor of the United States be maintained. If the islands subsided, if, on the other hand, our opponents came into power and attempted to carry out their promise, we should begin by giving them independence and withdrawing American control from the islands. The islands would be left to the Filipinos themselves, and in its larger aspect would amount to an international crisis of the most serious kind. The most violent anarchic forces would be directed partly against the civil government, and partly against the American educational civilization. Bloody conflicts would have inevitably ensued in the archipelago, and the islands would have become the prey of the first power which in its own selfish interest took up the task we have bravely

round practical to give them self-government in the sense that we have been giving it to the Christian inhabitants.

"To abandon the Moro country, as our opponents propose in their resolutions, twenty-five years ago we had withdrawn the army and the civil agents from within and without the island of Mindanao, and the West at a time when the Sloux and the Apache were still the terror of our settlers. It would be a grim and senseless self-sacrifice, if our people, having pledged themselves thereto, if successful in the coming election they would either have lost their faith in the Government, or they would leave an indelible stain upon our national reputation for courage, and for good sense. During the past year, the islands have been the theatre of material and moral well-being of the Filipinos then ever before since the islands were given to them. The Moro, a civilized man. We have opened before them a vista of orderly development in their own interests, and not a policy of exploitation. It is highly commendable to its credit, the islands for self-government, and they have already in large measure received it, which is being made a part of their history, their personal rights and civil liberties have been guaranteed. They are being educated; they have been given roads, and there have been no barbares; roads are being built for their use; their health is being cared for; they are being given a share in the Government, and justice as absolute as it is in our power to guarantee. Their individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are being guaranteed. Jealously safeguarded under the American flag; and if the protection of the United States were ever withdrawn, they would be lost; and the islands would be plunged back under some form of more tyranny. We have given them more self-government than any other people in the world; we are taking steps to increase it still further by providing them with an elective assembly, and a more complete and had better award the result of the experiment for it is a wholly new experiment in Asia—before we make promises to break, or which they might interpret one way and we in another.

"It has been asserted without fear of successful contradiction that nowhere else in recent years has there been as fine an example of constructive statesmanship and high-minded leadership as in the Philippines, as has been given by the civil authorities, aided by the army, in the Philippine Islands. We have seen the Filipinos in the past, at the feet of their own people; and the Filipinos themselves have profited most by our presence in the islands; but they have also shown a very real advantage as a nation.

Spreading Free Government

"So far from having 'sapped the foundations' of free popular government at home by the course taken in the Philippines, we have been spreading its knowledge and teaching its practice among peoples to whom it had never before been more than an empty name. Our action has spread the principles of orderly liberty throughout the world. Our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in Havona. We have not only shown that we have treated the power we have gained as a solemn obligation, and have used it in the interest of mankind; and thus we have shown to the world that the weaker peoples of the world, are better off because of the position we have assumed, but we have also shown that we give proof of an infirm and unstable national purpose.

"Four years ago, in his speech of acceptance of the Presidency, Mr. McKinley said: 'Liberty and mēlmā mē kēmumun.' 'We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by reason and duty, and our course, turning aside no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and we will be true to our principles. We will fear every national and international obligation.' 'The Republic has been dedicated to freedom. For four years ago we have been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour, not of profession, but of performance. We broke the chains of four million slaves, and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come

(Continued on Ninth Page.)